

MESSAGE  
OF  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
COMMUNICATING

*In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 8th instant, correspondence between the State Department and the United States Minister at Constantinople, respecting the liberation of Kossuth and his Companions.*

MARCH 11, 1851.

Read, and ordered to be printed.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit, herewith, a report from the Secretary of State, with the accompanying documents, in compliance with the resolution of the Senate, of the 8th instant.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

WASHINGTON, 10th March, 1851.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, 10th March, 1851.

*To the President of the United States:*

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred the resolution of the Senate of the 8th instant, requesting the President "to communicate to the Senate, if not inconsistent with the public interest, any correspondence which has taken place between the Department of State, and the Minister of the United States at Constantinople, respecting the liberation of Kossuth and his companions," has the honor to lay before the President the accompanying copies of papers.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

LIST OF PAPERS.

1. Mr. Clayton to Mr. Marsh, 12th January, 1850.
2. Mr. J. P. Brown to Secretary of State, 5th January, 1850, with an inclosure.
3. Mr. Marsh to Secretary of State, 14th March, 1850.
4. The same to the same, 25th March, 1850.

5. Mr. Marsh to Secretary of State, 18th April, 1850.
6. The same to the same, 15th May, 1850.
7. The same to the same, 19th June, 1850.
8. The same to the same, 4th July, 1850.
9. The same to the same, 19th August, 1850.
10. Mr. Marsh to the same, 15th November, 1850.
11. Mr. Webster to Mr. Marsh, 25th January, 1851.
12. The same to Mr. J. P. Brown, 22d February, 1851.
13. Mr. J. P. Brown to Secretary of State, 23d February, 1851.
14. Mr. Webster to Mr. Marsh, 28th February, 1851.

*Mr. Clayton to Mr. Marsh.*

[COPY—No. 3.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, 12th January 1850.

GEORGE P. MARSH, Esq., *Constantinople.*

SIR:—You are well aware that the deepest interest is felt among the people of the United States, in the fate of Kossuth and his compatriots of Hungary, who have hitherto escaped by seeking an asylum within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. The accounts respecting them have been so conflicting—sometimes representing them as having escaped, and at others as being captive, that we have not known what to credit, and have therefore declined to interfere in their behalf; nor do we now desire to interfere, by entangling ourselves in any serious controversy with Russia or Austria. But we cannot suppose that a compliance with the dictates of humanity, now that the contest with Hungary is over, would involve our friendly relations with any other power. Should you be of the opinion that our good offices would avail anything to secure their safety, it is desired by your government that you should intercede, with the Sultan in their behalf. The President would be gratified, if they could find a retreat under the American flag, and their safe conveyance to this country, by any one of our National ships, which may be about to return home, would be hailed with lively satisfaction by the American people.

I am sir, yours, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN M. CLAYTON.

*Mr. Brown to Secretary of State.*

[Extract.]

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 5, 1850.

HONORED SIR:—I recently received the enclosed letter from Mr. Kossuth, the Ex-governor of unfortunate Hungary; and supposing that it might be agreeable to you to possess a letter from this illustrious man, I take the liberty of enclosing it to you, with a literal translation in English.

Major Bock has been my guest for some days, and will probably leave soon for France and England, on his way to the United States. It is his intention to settle near a friend in Texas. He entertains feelings of the most devoted kind for Mr. Kossuth, whose patriotism, benevolence, firm-

ness in misfortune, and inseparable devotion to those friends now with him at Choumla, he has frequently mentioned to myself and family in the warmest terms. I am sorry to learn from him that, notwithstanding the nobleness and generosity of the Sultan, Mr. Kossuth and his friends are far from being comfortably situated at Choumla. Their number is now reduced to some 500 Hungarians and 700 Poles. The Italians, 200 in number, are at Gallipoli, (Dardanelles.) Major Bock has also related to me the conduct of the Austrian government towards the principal agents of the revolution in Hungary, and to those of the refugees at Widin, who, confiding in the amnesty offered them by the Austrian general sent there for that purpose, returned into Hungary only to meet with death in the most ignominious form. \* \* \* \*

Mr. Kossuth has no knowledge yet of his aged mother, wife, and children. It is supposed that the latter are now in Vienna, in a military academy, as hostages for the future silence of their father. Few or none of the refugees have any other means of subsistence beyond what the Sultan gives them. The Russian minister has re-opened official relations with the Porte, (on the 30th ultimo,) and I hear that the Polish refugees are to leave Turkey. The Austrian minister has not yet done so, and the fate of the Hungarians is unsettled. It is understood that Mr. Kossuth is invited to go to England in case of his being able to leave this country. \* \* \* \*

I have the honor to be, sir, with much respect,

Your very obedient servant,

J. P. BROWN.

*Louis Kossuth to the American Minister resident at Constantinople.*

[ Translation. ]

CHOUMLA, December 13, 1849.

MR. AMBASSADOR :—It is with the most profound sentiment of gratitude that I have learned the noble sympathy with which your excellency, as a worthy representative of a truly magnanimous nation, honors my own disaster and that of my country. Whilst I make use of this occasion to express to your excellency my entire gratitude and my highest consideration, I take leave also to recommend to your benevolence Major Bock, one of my aids-de-camp and secretaries. He is about to return to his own country in consequence of a reclamation on the part of the ambassador of Prussia, but will remain some time at Constantinople for the purpose of arranging some of my affairs. I hope that, with a man of your character, this recommendation will not lose in value, because it comes from a man who, perhaps, amongst all living ones, was the most persecuted by misfortune. But this misfortune has given me the consolation that I found in it noble friends and faithful adherents, and the Major Bock is among the most faithful.

Accept, Mr. Ambassador, the expression of my highest consideration.

LOUIS KOSSUTH,  
*Ex-governor of Hungary.*

To the AMBASSADOR

*Of the United States of North America, Constantinople.*

*Mr. Marsh to the Secretary of State.*

[ Extract. — No. 3. ]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
*Constantinople, March 14, 1850.*

Sir: \* \* \* \* \*

By the Marseilles mail steamer, which arrived on the same day as the Mississippi, [23d February last,] I received the President's instructions of the 12th of January; and as, in the opinion of the most intelligent friends of the Hungarian refugees at Broussa, it was not improbable that Kossuth and his companions might be allowed to take passage for America, in compliance with the request of the President, or at least suffered to escape, I deemed it my duty to request Captain Long to detain the Mississippi at Constantinople, until I could address a note to the Porte (which could only be done after my audience of reception) and obtain a reply, and I accordingly communicated to that officer the substance of my instructions, and desired him to remain a reasonable time for that purpose. I trust his compliance with my request will not be thought an unwarrantable infraction of the orders of Commodore Morgan, by which he was directed to return to Naples as early as the 15th of March.

In the mean time Mr. Brown had, by my directions, informally apprized the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the nature of my instructions, in order that the Porte might be prepared to give an early answer when the President's wishes should be formally communicated, and immediately after my reception, I addressed the following note, under date of March 11th, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"The President of the United States of America, participating in the philanthropic sentiments by which his Imperial Majesty the Sultan has been actuated in his noble and generous treatment of the Hungarian refugees, has instructed the undersigned, Minister resident of the United States, to intercede with his Majesty in their behalf, and to offer them, through his Majesty, a secure asylum in the United States, together with a free passage to America by any American public ship which may be about to return home.

"The undersigned is happy to make this office of humanity the subject of his first official communication to the Sublime Porte, and seizes the earliest moment after his audience of reception to fulfil his instructions, by formally requesting, in the name of the American government and people, that Kossuth, late chief executive officer of Hungary, and his companions, at present detained by the Turkish authorities at Broussa, may be permitted to take passage for the United States on board an American vessel of war now in the Mediterranean, and about to sail for home. The undersigned has also the honor to tender the services of the United States steamer Mississippi, now at Constantinople, for the purpose of conveying the refugees to the vessel in question.

"The President conceives that, now that the contest between Hungary and Austria is over, there can, upon the general principles of international law, exist no valid objection from any quarter to the emigration of these persons to a country so distant from the scene of the late contest as the United States; and while the undersigned does not assume to determine the extent of the obligations of Turkey to European powers, in virtue of treaty stipulations or other solemn engagements, he begs leave

to express the hope that the generous purpose of the Sultan, in magnanimously sheltering these fugitives against their pursuers, may find full accomplishment in their restoration to entire freedom, and that the United States may be permitted to share in the glory, which the salvation of these distinguished patriots, will confer upon all who shall have contributed to effect an object so important to the common interests of humanity.

"The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to offer to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the assurance of his most distinguished consideration."

I am aware that my instructions of January 12, 1850, do not in terms, *direct* me to make an offer of the services of a public ship for the conveyance of the Hungarian refugees to America, but as the Jamestown is understood to be about to return to the United States, and as Captain Long was of opinion that the Mississippi might be detained here a few days without inconvenience to the service, for the purpose of transporting them to Genoa, I thought the offer fully *authorized* by the letter as well as the spirit of those instructions.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs promises a reply to my note on Saturday next; but as the Marseilles steamer, by which I transmit this despatch, sails on Friday, I shall not be able to communicate his answer until the mail of the 19th instant. I have no doubt that the Porte is sincerely desirous of acceding to the President's wishes, but I fear the influence of Russia and Austria upon this question is too strong to be overcome. The Sultan has unfortunately embarrassed himself by offering to detain the refugees in the interior for a year; and though this proposal was rejected by Austria, which insisted on a much longer term of *internement*, it is believed that the Sultan feels himself not entirely released from his obligations. At present Kossuth, Batthiany, and about thirty other Hungarians, are under restraint at Broussa, and if our proposal is declined, they will probably be removed to Kutaya, eighty miles further inland.

The refugees have—but, as I believe, without any good reason—become jealous and distrustful of the Porte, and complained much of the treatment they receive at the hands of the officers to whose custody they are committed. I can readily imagine that they may not always have been treated with due consideration; but it must be remembered that the maintenance of so large a number of foreigners, (originally more than four thousand, and now about twelve hundred,) is a heavy charge upon the Turkish government, and that in a country so destitute as Turkey of most of the conveniences and comforts which habit has made necessary to Europeans it is absolutely impracticable to provide them with the means of ease and enjoyment to which they had been before accustomed.

I am fully persuaded that the Sultan, and the great officers of his court, have been throughout actuated by the most generous and philanthropic motives, and that the refugees have been treated with every practicable indulgence that the well-grounded fears which the Turks entertain of Austrian resentment would allow.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE P. MARSH.

Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON,  
*Secretary of State.*



*Mr. Marsh to the Secretary of State.*

[ Extract.—No. 4. ]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
*Constantinople, March 25, 1850.*

Sir: On Tuesday, the 19th instant, I received from the Department of Foreign Affairs, of the Porte a reply to my note of March 11, (a copy of which was communicated to you in my despatch No. 3, dated March 11, 1850,) whereof the following is a translation:

“DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE SUBLIME PORTE,

“I have had the honor to receive your communication dated the 11th of March, A. C. 1850, in which you represent, that in case the Sublime Porte approves of the sending of the Hungarians to America, a vessel of your government, appointed for that purpose, will convey them thither. The Sublime Porte certainly will offer no obstacle or difficulty to the departure, to whatever place they please, of such of the Hungarians as are not implicated, nor is there any objection to those Hungarians and Poles whose names are not registered in the list given to the Sublime Porte by the Austrian government, or who are not otherwise implicated, profiting by the hospitality thus offered on the part of the United States of America.

“Yet, in consequence of the offer spontaneously made by the Sublime Porte, it bound itself to keep in the Ottoman dominions, under certain conditions which it is now endeavoring to arrange, those of the chiefs of said people whose names are entered on that list; and in the view of acting with sincerity and probity in its intercourse and relations with other friendly governments, and maintaining its given word, it is obligatory on the part of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, to execute that offer.

“Under these circumstances the Ottoman government deems itself compelled to decline permitting said chiefs to proceed to America.

“I avail myself of the present occasion to offer you assurances of my highest respect and most distinguished consideration.

[SEAL.]

“EL SAID MEHEMED EMİR AALI,

*“Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

“JEMAGIEL GIMEL 5, 1266.”—[*March 18, 1850.*]

I learn that the substance of my note was communicated to the Austrian and Russian ministers at Constantinople, and that they were urged by the Porte to consent to the emigration of the Hungarian refugees to America, but without effect. I am happy to add, that I have reason to believe that Baron Tecco, the highly respectable minister of the King of Sardinia at Constantinople, supported our application with great zeal; and I suppose, also, that the British ambassador threw his influence into the same scale. \* \* \* \* \*

I am now by no means without hope that Kossuth and his friends will be speedily released, unless Austria unconditionally accepts the Sultan's offer of a detention for a single year, which there is little reason to suppose she will do.

The precise terms of the Sultan's offer to the Emperor of Austria are not known, but it is understood to have been to the effect that he would detain for a year, in Asia Minor, a certain number of the refugees, to be selected by Austria within a given period. Although the offer was not

accepted as to the *time*, Austria immediately indicated the names of Kossuth and about thirty others, who were forthwith sent to Broussa, and the residue, about 1,200 in number, are still at Choumla, where they will be kept until the selection is completed, and then probably released.

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I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,  
 GEORGE P. MARSH.

Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON,  
*Secretary of State.*

[COPY.] *Mr. Marsh to Secretary of State.*

[Extract.—No. 5.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.  
*Constantinople, 18th April, 1850.*

TO Hon. J. M. CLAYTON,

SIR:—Since the date of my last despatch (No. 4,) the Austrian government has notified the Porte of its acceptance of the terms of *internement* of the Hungarian refugees offered by the Sultan, and the diplomatic relations between Austria and the Porte have been formally resumed. The refugees who were lately at Broussa have been removed to Kutayah, and it is understood that on the expiration of a year from the date of the Sultan's offer, (which was early last autumn,) they will be released and allowed to proceed to England or America, as they may desire. The other refugees are still in the interior, and about one hundred of them have expressed a desire to emigrate to the United States, and have applied to me to furnish them with the means of transportation to America, and of subsistence in the mean time. I could, of course, contract no engagements of this sort, and did not feel at liberty to hold out to them encouragement or aid of any description from the American government."

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[COPY.] *Mr. Marsh to Secretary of State.*

[Extract.—No. 6.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
*Constantinople, 15th May, 1850.*

Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON, *Secretary of State.*

SIR: \* \* \* \* \*

"I am aware that the Executive government can do little for these persons without the authority of Congress, but for the sake of humanity, as well as the reputation for generosity which our sympathy with starving Ireland and oppressed Hungary has gained us in Europe, it is most earnestly to be desired that this Legation may be empowered to do something to realise the hopes which the suffering refugees still cherish, of effectual aid from the American people."

[COPY.]

*Mr. Marsh to Secretary of State.*

[EXTRACT.—No. 9.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
Constantinople, 19th June, 1850.

HON. JOHN M. CLAYTON, *Secretary of State.*

SIR:—

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“At the request of Governor Kossuth I asked leave for the refugees to enter the military service of Servia. To this the Minister replied, that the Porte must ultimately be responsible for the conduct of the refugees if it permitted or sanctioned their employment; that Servia was a frontier province, and their employment there would furnish a plausible pretext of complaint to Austria.

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“The conclusion to which the Porte had arrived, he informed me, was this—the monthly stipend allowed to the refugees remaining at Shumla would be discontinued and both officers and men set at liberty; those who elect, to remain in Turkey, receiving a donation of \$11, and those who leave the country, \$22 each.”

“This latter sum would nearly suffice to pay their passage to America, if there were now at Constantinople vessels constructed and fitted out for the conveyance of steerage passengers, but there are none such in port, nor indeed are they to be found in the Mediterranean. The refugees who speak French or Italian, will be able with such employment as they can pick up, and the donation above mention, to subsist some weeks: those who are acquainted with Maygar and German only, as is the case with many of them, can get no employment and must consequently suffer.”

[COPY.]

*Mr. Marsh to Secretary of State.*

[EXTRACT.—No. 10.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Constantinople, 4th July, 1850.

HON. JOHN M. CLAYTON, &amp;c., &amp;c.

SIR:

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“Since my last despatch, the Minister of Foreign Affairs offered me to send all the Hungarian refugees, excepting those detained in Asia Minor, who wish to go to America, (about two hundred in number,) to England, at the expense of the Sultan, if I would undertake, in behalf of the American government to transport them from England to America. I regret I had not authority to accept this liberal proposal, but was of course obliged to decline it.”



*Mr. Marsh to Secretary of State.*

[EXTRACT.—No. 12.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
*Constantinople, August 19, 1850.*HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, *Secretary of State.*

SIR :

In my despatch, No. 10, I stated that the Porte had offered to transport, at its own expense, as far as Liverpool, such of the Hungarian refugees as desired to emigrate to America, upon condition, that the American government would provide for their passage from England to the United States. The intercession of the government of the United States, in behalf of Kossuth and his companions, but much more especially the strong manifestations of popular sympathy in the United States in the cause of the refugees, had led the Porte to expect with confidence, that some aid would be lent thdm, either by the American government, or by the voluntary contributions of individuals; and I have reason to think, that my refusal to pledge the government of the United States to aid their emigration, was received with disappointment, if not with a stronger feeling, by the Porte.

*Mr. Marsh to Secretary of State.*

[EXTRACT.—No. 15.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
*Constantinople, November 15, 1850.*HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, *Secretary of State.*

SIR :

The Porte has determined, as I am informed by the Minister of foreign affairs, to send the Polish refugees to England, whence most of them intend to emigrate to America. The Hungarians have principally gone back to their own country, or wandered into the interior; but many of them are here in a state of great destitution, and their necessities have obliged me to contribute to their relief, to an extent, which, with my inadequate compensation, has been a serious embarrassment to me. I am aware that I cannot lawfully claim any allowance for this expenditure in my account with the contingent fund, but the action of the government, and the expressions of public sympathy in America, have put me in a position which has absolutely compelled me to go much beyond my means in supplying the wants of these suffering outcasts.

*Mr. Webster to Mr. Marsh.*

[EXTRACT.—No. 14.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
*Washington, 25th January, 1851.*

SIR :

“Those parts of your despatches, Nos. 9, 10 and 12, which relate to the Hungarian and other refugees in Turkey, were, on the 26th September last,

communicated to Congress. No measures were adopted by that body, however, which would enable the Executive to extend to those unfortunate men, the facilities to come to this country, which the Turkish government seemed to expect; without this authority and an appropriation, the Executive could do nothing. This the Turkish government ought to be made fully to understand.

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[COPY.]      *Secretary of State to Mr. John P. Brown.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, 22d February, 1851.

JOHN P. BROWN, Esq., *Dragoman of the United States Legation at Constantinople.*

SIR: Being desirous to know the exact condition in which the Hungarian exiles are, and what the intentions of the Turkish government are supposed to be in regard to them, I would be obliged to you, if you would give me such information on this subject as you may possess.

Yours respectfully,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

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[COPY.]      *John P. Brown to the Secretary of State*

WASHINGTON, February 23, 1851.

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, *Secretary of State of the United States.*

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your letter, of the 22d instant, in which you are pleased to request that I should communicate to the Department whatever information I may possess respecting the circumstances connected with the detention of Mr. Louis Kossuth and his companions, now in Kutayich, in Asia Minor; and consequently beg leave to lay before it the following statement:

When, in September, 1849, Mr. Kossuth and his companions fled from Hungary, and found safety in the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey, from the united forces of Austria and Russia, they (the Poles and Hungarians together,) amounted to some four thousand in number. You are aware that the Emperors of Austria and Russia demanded, that the Sultan of Turkey, whose protection they had claimed, should deliver them up, and that the Sultan generously refused to accede to their demands. The Sultan however, as a matter of friendly compromise, addressed to each of these sovereigns an autograph letter, offering to expel from his Empire, or to detain in it, under surveillance, any of the refugees whom they might designate. The Emperor of Russia requested that all the Poles should be expelled from Turkey, and consequently, the Sultan sent to Malta, some two hundred and fifty Poles in one of his own steamers, and they have dispersed throughout France and Belgium. The Emperor of Austria asked the detention in Turkey of such of the Hungarian chiefs as he might name in a list, which would be given to the Porte by the Austrian Legation at Constantinople. In the mean time, a large number of the refugees escaped from Turkey, through the generous connivance of the Turkish authorities, and made their way to different parts of Europe, and even to the United

States. In this manner, the original number of the refugees soon became very much diminished.

In the Sultan's offer to detain the Hungarian chiefs, he made no allusion to any period of time, and its duration, consequently depends wholly upon himself. Notwithstanding the pressing demands of the Austrian government that Mr. Kossuth, and the others named in its list, should be detained for life, the humane and generous Sultan, promised only *one year*.

The Austrian government subsequently diminished its demand to twenty, fifteen, ten, and finally to five years; but the Sultan remained firm at his offer of *one year*. It was questioned, previous to my departure from Constantinople, when the year offered by the Sultan should commence, and when terminate; and as the refugees had crossed the Danube and entered Turkey in the month of September, 1849, it might commence with that event and end in the same month of the following year; or it might commence with the date of the list of the individuals whom the Austrian government desired should be detained, that is to say, at the end of May, 1850, (when the list was by mutual agreement to be closed,) in which case, the period of their detention would terminate with the month of May, of the present year. In the meantime, Mr. Kossuth with some twenty five or thirty others named in the list, and about forty more, who, at their own request, were allowed to share in the exile of their late Governor, were removed by the Sultan's orders from Shumla, in Rumania, to Kutayich, the place fixed upon for their residence, and where they yet remain under strict surveillance. The Hungarians who remained at Shumla continued to receive rations and a small monthly stipend out of the Sultan's treasury; those who escaped to the Capital, and did not leave the country, forfeited this pecuniary assistance, and consequently, soon fell into very destitute circumstances. Many of the latter found employment in the service of benevolent Musselmans; others were employed in the Sultan's army, and a good number embraced Islamism in the hope of receiving military preferment. Contributions were made among the foreign legations and among the foreign residents in Pera, for the relief of the more needy, and the Turkish ministers never failed to aid those whose peculiar destitution was made known to them. This was the position of the affair when I left Constantinople, May 20th, of last year; and in the expectation that the year for which Mr. Kossuth was to be detained would terminate in the month of last September, I fully believed that he would ere this, have been released, and in the enjoyment of the blessing of liberty in the United States.

It was the Sultan's promise, contained in his autograph letter to the Emperor of Austria, which prevented his government from accepting the generous offer of the late lamented President, to convey Mr. Kossuth and his friends to the United States in one of our public vessels, which offer was made in March last, through the Minister resident of the United States at Constantinople. The Sultan, I cannot but feel confident, has no desire or interest in the detention of Mr. Kossuth, and would be most happy, I believe, to be released from the expense and inconvenience which it occasions him. And whilst the Turkish government decided not to permit him to be conveyed to this country in the steamer "Mississippi," which vessel was proposed to it for that purpose, some of the Sultan's ministers expressed the most positive assurances, in which I still place confidence, that his detention should not be prolonged beyond the period of one year.

During the last summer, the Turkish government offered to the Minister resident, to send the Hungarians to Liverpool, in one of the Sultan's steamers, in case his government would provide means for their conveyance to this country; and from the circumstance, that the period of their departure from Turkey would have been about the month of September—one year from the date of their entrance into the Sultan's dominions, I am induced to believe that Mr. Kossuth would have been of their number. The Minister resident, not feeling himself at liberty to bind the government, from the want of any authority to do so, the Hungarians were not sent. I also apprehend that the Austrian government, at that time made serious opposition to his release; and that the Sultan was induced by it, to defer it until a more favorable opportunity should offer.

I am privately informed from Constantinople, under date of the 11th ult. that the Sultan had brought three hundred of the refugees from Shumla to Constantinople; probably all that remained there of the original four thousand, and was about to embark them in a vessel chartered by him for England, and that he had given to each one, one thousand piastres, (forty dollars,) with which to defray their expenses to this country, where they were desirous of proceeding for the purpose of engaging in agricultural pursuits. The same letter adds, that at that time, there was nothing certain known about Mr. Kossuth's release.

In view of the preceding, I would respectfully suggest, that the President direct the Minister resident at Constantinople, to renew, as early as practicable, to the Turkish government, the offer of his late lamented predecessor, to convey Mr. Kossuth and such of his friends as may desire to accompany him to the United States, in one of our public vessels. For this purpose the steamer "Mississippi," now in the Mediterranean squadron might be ordered to proceed up to Constantinople, and in the conviction which I entertain, that the Sultan's government will be disposed to release Mr. Kossuth and the other exiles at Kutayich, at the end of next May; I also believe, that this offer will then be very opportune, and enable the Sultan and his present enlightened Ministers to carry their humane intentions into effect, without exciting the apprehensions of the Austrian government, which would not wish Mr. Kossuth to be set at liberty, and be permitted to remain so near to the Hungarian frontier as Constantinople.

I have the honor to be sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN P. BROWN,

*United States Dragoman.*

[No. 15.]

*Mr. Webster to Mr. Marsh.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, February 28. 1851,

GEORGE P. MARSH, Esq., &c., &c., *Constantinople.*

SIR: I am directed by the President to address you on the subject of the Hungarian Refugees, who are now in the Turkish Dominions.

It is understood, by this Government, that Mr. Kossuth and forty or fifty others, his companions, are in confinement in Kutayich, in Asia Minor, where they have been for a year, or more, and that they continue to feel an earnest desire to come to the United States.

By a despatch of my predecessor you were instructed to offer to the Sublime Porte to receive Mr. Kcssuth, and his companions, on board of one of the National Ships of the United States, to convey them to this country.

It would have been extremely gratifying to the Government and people of the United States, if this proposition could have been, at that time, accepted; but it is understood, that its not having been complied with by the Sublime Porte, did not arise from a wish, on His Imperial Majesty's part, to detain them, or from any unwillingness, that they should proceed to the United States, but was in consequence of the Sultan's offer to Austria, to detain these persons for one year, at the expiration of which time unless further conventions should be entered into to prolong their detention, they should be at liberty to depart.

If this be so, the time is near at hand, when their release may be expected, and when they may be permitted, to seek an asylum in any part of the world, to which they shall be able to procure the means of transportation.

It is confidently hoped, that the Sublime Porte has not made, and will not make, any new stipulation, with any power, for their detention; and you are directed to address yourself urgently; though respectfully, to the Sublime Porte on this question.

You will cause it to be strongly represented, that, while this Government has no desire or intention to interfere, in any manner, with questions of public policy, or international or municipal relations of other Governments, not affecting the rights of its own citizens, and while it has entire confidence in the justice and magnanimity and dignity of the Sublime Porte, yet, on a matter of such universal interest, it hopes, that suggestions, proceeding from no other motives, than those of friendship and respect for the Porte, a desire for the continuance and perpetuity of its independence and dignified position among the nation of the earth, and a sentiment of commiseration for the Hungarian Exiles,—may be received by the Porte in the same friendly spirit, in which they are offered, and that the growing good feeling and increasing intercourse between the two Governments may be still further fostered and extended, by a happy concurrence of opinion, and reciprocity of confidence, upon this as upon all other subjects. Compliance with the wishes of the government and people of the United States, in this respect, will be regarded as a friendly recognition of their intercession, and as a proof of national good will and regard.

The course which the Sublime Porte pursued, in refusing to allow the Hungarian Exiles to be seized upon its soil by the forces of a foreign state, or to arrest and deliver them up itself to their pursuers, was hailed with universal approbation, it might be said with gratitude, every where throughout the United States, and this sentiment was not the less strong, because the demand upon the Sublime Porte was made by governments confident in their great military power, with armies in the field of vast strength, flushed with recent victory, and whose purposes were not to be thwarted, or their pursuit stayed, by any obstacle less than the interposition of an Empire, prepared to maintain the inviolability of its territories and its absolute sovereignty over its own soil.

This government, jealous of its own territorial rights, regarded with great respect and hearty approbation the firm and lofty position, assumed by His Imperial Majesty at that time, and so proudly maintained, under



circumstances well calculated to inspire doubt, and against demands, urged with such gravity, and supported by so formidable an array. His Imperial Majesty felt, that he should be no longer an independent Prince, if he consented to be anything less than the sovereign of his own dominions.

While thus regarding the political position and conduct of the Sublime Porte, in reference to other powers, His Majesty's generosity in providing for the wants of the fugitives, thus unexpectedly, and in so great numbers, throwing themselves upon his protection, is considered equally worthy of admiration.

On the other hand, it is not difficult to conceive, what may have been the considerations, which led the Sublime Porte to consent to remove these persons from its frontiers, require them to repair to the interior, and there to remain for a limited time.

A great attempt at revolution against the established authorities of a neighboring state, with which the Sublime Porte was at peace, and with which it desired to preserve friendly relations, had only then been suppressed; the chief actors in that attempt had escaped into the dominions of the Porte. To permit them to remain upon its frontiers, where they might project new undertakings against that state, and into which, if circumstances favored, they could enter in arms at any time,—might well have been considered dangerous to both Governments; and the Sublime Porte, while protecting them, might certainly also prevent their occupying any such position in its own dominions, as should give just cause and alarm to neighboring and friendly Powers. Their removal to certain localities might also be rendered desirable by considerations of convenience to the Sublime Porte itself, upon whole charity and generosity such numbers had so suddenly become dependent.

The detention of these persons for a short period of time, in order that they might not at once repair to other parts of Europe, to renew their operations, was a request that it was not unnatural to make, and was certainly, in the decrection of the Sublime Porte to grant, without any sacrifice of its dignity, or any want of kindness towards the Refugees.

But, at this time, all possible apprehension of danger or disturbance, to result from their liberation, has ceased.

It is now more than a year since the last Hungarian army surrendered, and the attempt at revolution, and the establishment of an independent government, in which they were engaged, were most sternly crushed by the united forces of two of the greatest powers of Europe.

Their chief associates are, like themselves, in exile, or they have perished on the field, or on the scaffold, or by military execution, their estates are confiscated, their families dispersed, and every castle, fortress and city of Hungary, is in the possession of the forces of Austria.

They themselves, by their desire to remove so far from the scene of their late conflict, declare, that they entertain no hope, or thought, of other similar attempts, and wish only to be permitted to withdraw themselves altogether from all European association, and seek new homes in the vast interior of the United States.

For their attempt at independence they have most dearly paid, and now, broken in fortune and in heart, without home or country, a band of exiles, whose only future is a tearful remembrance of the past, whose only request is to spend their remaining days in obscure industry,—they wait the permission of His Imperial Majesty, to remove themselves, and all that

may remain to them, across the ocean, to the uncultivated regions of America, and leave, for ever, a continent which to them has become more gloomy than the wilderness, more lone and dreary than the desert.

The people of the United States expect from the generosity of the Turkish Monarch that this permission will be given; they wait to receive these exiles on their shores, where, without giving just cause of uneasiness to any Government, they may enjoy whatever of consolation can be afforded by sympathy for their sufferings, and that assistance in their necessities, which this people have never been late in offering to any, and which they are not now for the first time called upon to render.

Accustomed themselves to high ideas of National Independence, the people of the United States would regret to see the government of the vast Empire of Turkey, constrained by the force of circumstances, to exercise the duty of keeping prisoners for other powers.

You will further say to the Sublime Porte, that if, as this government hopes and believes, Mr. Kossuth and his companions are allowed to depart from the dominions of His Imperial Majesty at the expiration of the year commencing in May 1850, they will find conveyance to the United States in some of its National ships, now in the Mediterranean sea, which can be spared for that purpose, and you will, on receiving assurances that these persons will be permitted to embark, ascertain precisely their number, and immediately give notice to the Commander of the United States squadron on that station, who will receive orders from the proper authorities, to be present with such ships, as may be necessary, or can leave the station, to furnish conveyance for Kossuth and his companions to the United States,